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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Crawford

THREE GENERATIONS *of the Christopher family become life members of the NAACP. Dr. N. K. Christopher, member of the national board of the NAACP, who is a life member himself, sets a record by enrolling his family (three generations) as NAACP life members. From L, Mrs. Odessa Salvant, daughter; Carolyn Salvant, granddaughter; Mrs. Clara Christopher, wife; and Dr. N. K. Christopher.*

■ The piece-by-piece story of how a Northern capitalist used race-hate as a "union-busting" tactic

Race-Hate Wins a First Round*

By James B. Carey

THIS is the story of how the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, lost the first round of a fight against race-hate and —much more important—the story of how the IUE is making absolutely sure that the first round will be the only round that is lost.

The very few people who read the story in their newspapers read only one single paragraph — the barest skeleton of the story. The item reported that IUE had organized the employees of the Northern Electric Products Corporation (called Neco) at Bay Springs, Mississippi, and that subsequently the IUE had petitioned for an NLRB election after the overwhelming majority of Neco workers had signed IUE membership cards.

The little news item concluded with the statement that on September 6, 1957, the IUE had lost the election by a vote of 291 for No Union to 86 for the IUE.

That, as I say, was the single-paragraph item, but behind those bare election figures there was a towering complex of other elements. Appalling and frightening elements which included: anti-unionism of the most vicious kind; flagrant exploitation of race-hate; threats of violence and a virtual reign of terror in a small town.

The Battle of Bay Springs is essentially the story of how a Northern employer provoked a Southern community into a panic of hate, fear and racism, all for the purpose of defeating IUE in order to preserve miserable, substandard wage levels and a feudal domination by the employer over both his workers and the community.

As good as any place to start is

* A speech delivered at IUE's second biennial economic policy conference, Louisville, Kentucky, September 19-20, 1957.

JAMES B. CAREY *is president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO.*

to say that the employer organized the community against the IUE and —to one extent or another—succeeded in brainwashing a considerable number of citizens into believing such myths as the following:

OUTSIDE INFLUENCE

First, that the IUE represented an "outside influence," a group of Northern intruders, not part of the South, not interested in the South;

Second, that the IUE was interested only in dues and per capita, in getting its fingers into the worker's pocketbook;

Third, that the end result of IUE organization would be to damage the worker's economic interests and job security;

Fourth, that the IUE was dedicated to the creation of racial strife.

Ironically, it was precisely these offenses of which the employer was guilty, not the union. Nevertheless, around these charges the town's merchants, businessmen, and so-called civic spokesmen were mobilized: mobilized to threaten workers with the loss of their jobs, with loss of credit at the stores, with social shunning and other reprisals. Who were the outsiders actually?

Both the IUE's organizers were Mississippians, one of whom was born and bred within 20 miles of the plant. Hardly an outsider! Who were the others? The others were, purely and simply, the people in the plant, all of them Southerners, all but a tiny handful of them native Mississippians. They were, in short, local workers trying to organize themselves into a union with the help of the IUE. So who were the outsiders, who were the intruders? Not the organizers—they were native Mississippians. Not the workers—they too were native Mississippians. Here again we encounter irony.

REAL INTRUDER

It was the employer, the company, that was the true outsider, the real intruder. Neco happens to be organized as a Mississippi corporation but that's only the cheapest of pretenses, a financial gimmick. Neco is a Chicago corporation. Neco is owned and operated by two Chicagoans, Sam and Ed Russell. Neco's headquarters are in Chicago. And in Chicago Neco has two other plants which could be called the "parent" plants. (Neco also operates a tiny plant in Jamestown, Kentucky, but that is immaterial to our considerations here.)

Can you imagine the gall, therefore, of these Chicago employers with their Chicago headquarters and their Chicago "parent" plants calling IUE members "outsiders."

Now let's take a moment to examine the Neco corporation a bit more closely.

Neco manufactures only one line of products: electric blankets, heating pads, and component parts for the blankets and pads. Neco never sells directly to the customer or under its own brand-name.

Neco's biggest customer for blankets is the huge mail order house of Sears-Roebuck. Sears sell the Neco blanket to the public under the brand-name of Harmony House. The Rexall Drug Store chain sells the Neco heating pads under the brand-name of Rex-Ray.

How did this Chicago firm, whose major customers are two huge na-

tional chain-store companies, happen to locate in the small town of Bay Springs, Mississippi?

Neco came to Bay Springs only after brow-beating the community into promises of special subsidies and tax exemptions.

SPECIAL SUBSIDIES

Number one, Neco got a plant building, which is owned by the taxpayers of Jasper County, at the absurdly low rental of $3700-a-year. Neco was allowed to buy up the unexpired lease of the previous tenant for $18,400 and to apply that as credit toward future rent. Neco, therefore, pays no rent for at least five years! You think that's good? You think that's favoritism? You think that's victimizing the taxpayer? That's only the start of the almost-incredible economic paradise that this union-hating outfit from Chicago carved out for itself in rural Jasper County, Mississippi.

Neco insisted on and got, a trick arrangement whereby the company gets a credit of one per cent of its total annual payroll toward payment of its rent. So Neco doesn't even owe any money on rent because one per cent of the current payroll already covers the rent. Stay with me. This is still only the start. Neco also won an exemption from all county taxes. Yes, all county taxes. Needless to say, the taxpayers of the county, including low-income wage earners, must shoulder the burden of the taxes that Neco has succeeded in evading. So Neco corporation is, in effect, wallowing in special privileges and benefits.

How about Neco's owners, the Russels?

I'll cite you only one of the many, bounteous windfalls the Russells of Chicago are enjoying in Mississippi, but this one is really one for the books!

When Neco's president, Ed Russell, decided to move temporarily, or part-time, to Mississippi, he concluded that Jasper County (which contains the Neco plant) wasn't good enough for him. Maybe he found the idea of having his underpaid workers as neighbors somewhat distasteful. I don't know. I do know that he chose to build his new home in adjoining Jones County. And actually he constructed not a home in the usual modest sense of that word, nor even a residence, but a $190,000 mansion. Russell maneuvered this mansion onto the tax rolls as the property of Neco corporation. By means of this gimmick, Russell pays only $25-a-month rent on his $190,000 mansion. And, moreover, he avoids payment of large amounts of taxes.

So there is a picture, or an impressive part of the picture, of Neco and the Russels who call IUE people "outsiders." But what about the workers, the men and women in the Neco plant? Isn't it just possible that they don't need a union, that Neco and the Russells are doing right by them, that the employees are fairly well off? The answer is in one simple fact: the Neco workers came to IEU and asked to be organized. And why wouldn't they ask to be organized after their paycheck experiences with Neco?

The company started out with a 65¢-an-hour learner's rate in 1951. That was raised to 75¢ after the first 75 workers were hired. Eventually it

was hiked to $1 but not until the Federal Minimum Wage Law required it under threat of punishment. But today wages in the Neco plant average about $1.05-an-hour, much below the national average for such work and considerably below the rates paid in many southern plants manufacturing the same or similar products.

How about so-called fringe benefits and protections? Here the picture is even more appalling.

Holidays? Only three-a-year, compared with an average of eight in the majority of IUE contracts.

Insurance? The only insurance provided for Neco workers covers accidents and nothing else.

Maternity Leave? Yes, you're permitted to take time off to have a baby, but don't get any ideas that you have a right to a job when you come back to work? You're rehired only if there happens to be a job opening.

Seniority? Are there any other funny questions?

Job Security? Sure, but it's limited to a couple of Chicago boys named Sam and Ed Russell.

That was the background against which (suddenly, unexpectedly) a virtual reign of terror was unleashed. Actually it was a quiet, almost sleepy background, in this little town of Bay Springs—a total of about 1800 souls, in a county that is almost 100 per cent agricultural in the center of Mississippi. The IUE's campaign, too, was quiet; there was no need for dramatics, no need for high pressures or demonstrations of strength. Its was a quiet campaign, moreover, because the IUE had already signed up a majority of the Neco employees. Just where and by whom the terror was started we do not know.

We do know that one of its very first above-ground manifestions was a list of names circulated with the help of the Chamber of Commerce. This was a very special list of names (the names of Neco employees who were IUE supporters) and the list was swiftly circulated among all the merchants of Bay Springs.

BARRAGE OF HARASSMENTS

All at once, IUE members and supporters, doing their normal, usual shopping in the downtown stores found themselves subjected to a barrage, literally a barrage, of advice, harassements and threats. Incredible as this may seem, the merchants didn't stop there; they even visited IUE members in their homes. "Get out of the IUE if you know what's good for you," the merchants, in effect, told our people. "Get out of the IUE and make sure you vote against the IUE. If you don't you're not going to get any more credit in this store—or in any other store in town."

If the IUE workers withstood these pressures and these threats, there was still more to come. The local newspaper carried advertisements that served the employer's purposes. Neco management sent waves of rumors rolling through the town—prominent among them broad hints that if the IUE won the election the plant would close down and move away and also that if the IUE won there would inevitably be violent strikes and shootings, maybe deaths.

There were anti-union leaflets and anti-union phone calls and anti-union visits, house-to-house. All of it was aimed at one objective: to convince IUE members that if they supported the union their chances of survival in Bay Springs were very small, exceedingly small.

The real reign of terror was saved for the last 30 hours. Saved, carefully and deliberately, for the last 30 hours was an intensive, wholly abominable campaign to incite race-hatred and racial conflict.

Oh, the company had used the race issue before, but on a limited scale. What happened in the last 30 hours showed that Neco had been saving up the race-hate propaganda for a final blasting attack on IUE which would come too late for an effective answer to be made.

First, there were the captive audiences. On Wednesday, September 4, Neco employees were herded like sheep into the lobby of the plant for two meetings: one at 1:30 p.m., the other an hour later.

VIOLENT HARANGUE

The meetings started out with a violent harangue by Ed Russell, the carpet-bagging Neco president from Chicago. His was an incredibly crude, inflammatory speech. He began with his captive audience by calling the IUE a "Nigger-loving" union. He waved in front of his helpless workers a copy of the June 4 issue of the Jackson, Mississippi, *Daily News*, an issue that displayed on page-1 a four-column picture of IUE President James B. Carey dancing with a young Negro lady. Not that it really made any difference, but this fanatic fool, Russell, did not and would not, of course, tell his captive audience that the picture was one taken in Geneva, Switzerland, in the summer of 1956.

He would not and could not, of course, tell his audience that the picture was taken during the course of a meeting of the International Labor Organization, or that I was an American delegate and the young lady was part of a Nigerian ILO delegation, or that the picture was taken during an official party given in honor of the delegates by the Government of Switzerland.

Waving this copy of the newspaper, Russell then denounced the president of the IUE as a "Nigger-lover." Next he turned to the Mississippi-born IUE organizer Joe Thornton and hysterically branded him a "Nigger-lover."

He came back screaming to these charges, again and again.

Carpet-bagger Russell rang all the changes he could think of on the race-hate theme and then went on to threaten his employees with these fates if the IUE won the election:

They would be robbed, because their dues and per capita would serve no purpose except to make IUE leaders wealthy. They would lose their jobs because the IUE contract demands would drive the company out of business. They would risk becoming victims of union violence, perhaps get beaten or shot, even killed.

Four hundred Neco workers, 200 in each of the meetings, wandered back to their assembly lines, their stunned ears ringing with the charges of "Nigger-lover," robbery, unemployment and violence. But outside the plant there was as much violence being done to decency and democracy as inside.

Streams of letters, outrageously misleading and deceiving letters, went into the mailboxes of Neco workers. Most of them were from the Russells. For example:

Russell Letter Number 1: This letter contained photostatic reproductions of civil rights articles in the IUE News, pictures of Negro activity in IUE, pictures of President Carey's participation in the Washington Prayer Pilgrimage.

Russell Letter Number 2: This letter continued the race-hate theme, with broad references to President Carey's civil rights activities. It quoted Thurgood Marshall's address to the first AFL-CIO Convention and asserted that Carey's AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee was created to carry out the NAACP program given by Marshall to the Convention.

Russell Letter Number 3; In this letter, the IUE was charged with having made financial contributions to the NAACP.

To make certain that every worker in the plant saw the picture of Carey dancing with the young Negro lady, additional reproductions were passed out by company foremen inside the plant. The same picture appeared on company bulletin boards (as IUE literature was torn down) and in the workers' rest rooms.

The campaign drummed on with only one theme, pounded on, hammered on, over and over: Hate! Hate! Hate! Hate!

The last 30 hours were an appeal to the basest animal passions; they were incitements to every ingredient of the lynch spirit and mob action.

There is a horror almost beyond belief: a stranger to the community, an employer who is anti-union, anti-democratic, anti-Negro, yes, anti-human.

THE POSTSCRIPT

This happened, yes, this actually happened, in the greatest democracy in the world, in the year of Our Lord 1957!

The Neco company and its owners, the Russells, should almost make us ashamed to be members of the white race.

There has to be, of course, a postscript to the story. And the postscript starts with the simple announcement by the NLRB of two figures:

IUE 86
No Union 291

* * *

I said at the beginning that:

"This is the story of how the IUE lost the first round of a fight against race-hate and—much more important—the story of how the IUE is making absolutely sure that the first round will be the only round that is lost."

The IUE has not accepted and will not accept the 291 to 86 decision.

On September 12, 1957 the IUE filed with the NLRB a series of objections to the election and unfair labor practice charges against the employer.

We alleged, among other things, that the employer's use of race-hate propaganda prevented the workers from exercising their right to make a free choice of bargaining agent. On these grounds we asked that the election be set aside and a new election ordered.

With this action the IUE has initiated a test case—what we hope

(*Continued on page* 645)

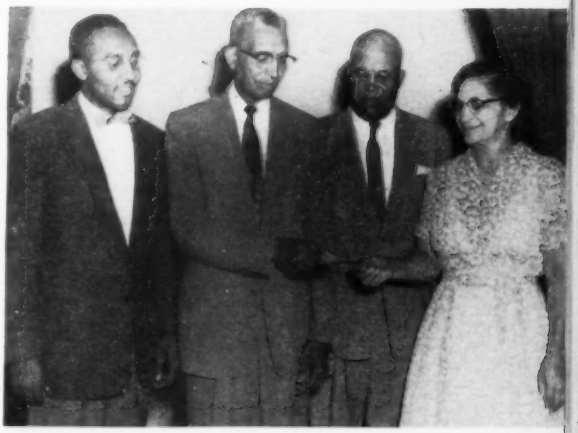
SAMUEL L. WILLIAMS, *president of the New Jersey State Conference of the NAACP, accepts a check for $100 from Robert C. Carter (R), Trenton, New Jersey, grand chancellor, State of New Jersey Knights of Pythias. Presentation was made at regular meeting of New Jersey state NAACP conference held in Trenton in September.*

Mrs. Rose C. Byrd, life membership chairman, watches James Turner write out a check for his initial payment of $50 on an NAACP life membership in the Palo Alto-Stanford, California, branch.

Ivor Winter, noted author and critic and professor of English at Stanford University presents his $500 NAACP life membership check to Mrs. Rose C. Byrd of the Palo Alto-Stanford branch.

Scene from the freedom fund dinner of the Madison, Wisconsin, branch at which Robert Ming (third from L) was the guest speaker.

Dr. Arthur M. Jackson, president of East St. Louis (Illinois) board of education, presents his check for life membership in NAACP to Mrs. Rose Silvers, financial secretary of local branch, in presence of branch president Dr. John Eubanks.



Soror Mrs. Ruth Wood of the Pi Omega chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha presents sorority's check for NAACP life membership to Chattanooga, Tennessee, branch president W. O. Bryson in the presence of James Mapp (L), secretary, and L. D. Collins, treasurer.

Lloyd Dickens, Democratic leader 11th assembly district, N. Y., makes final payment on NAACP life membership to Russell Crawford, president New York branch, in presence of sister, Mrs. Inez Dickens Gumbs, who displays her life membership plaque. General Sessions Judge Thomas Dickens (R), a brother, is also NAACP life member.

Jackie Robinson (center) looks over charter of Danbury, Connecticut, branch along with Constantine Brandi (L) and Gloster Current, NAACP director of branches. The charter was presented on August 10, 1957.

Mrs. Marion Jordon (standing L), executive secretary of the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, branch addresses some of the industrious workers who helped to make the 1957 membership campaign a success.

Mrs. Frankie Jones (L), president of the Berkeley, California, branch of the NAACP accepts $50 check from George P. Harbert, Jr., president of the The Townsman's Club of Berkeley, on behalf of his club. Men standing are some of the club members.

These are some of the members of the stewards department of the Moore - McCormack Lines, Inc., which is a paid-up life member of the NAACP.

Stewardesses of the S.S. Brazil of the Moore-McCormack Lines, Inc. This department is a paid-up member of the NAACP.

Sales staff of the 57th Street branch of the FIF Investment Associates, New York, invest in a life membership in the NAACP.

■ **"Take a Giant Step," says this author, offers a compassionate conception of the anguishes of adolescence**

The Travail of Adolescence

By Martin S. Dworkin

EACH year passes with a relentless autonomy. Yet, it is not an easy thing to grow up. The young do not mature like wines, brought to their perfect age by careful isolation in a controlled environment. This world in which they live is often hostile, returning careless, impersonal cruelty for their groping trials at finding meaning for their new lives, a society to which they can belong, and a place to call home. Growing up for so many (and especially for those carrying the stigma of some outcast group) means accepting a world in which there is only a partial belonging, and this at the price of an introverted, inevitably distorted self-respect.

Take A Giant Step originally dignified the New York stage for two months early in the season of 1953-54, and then had an "off-Broadway" revival. In it, playwright Louis Peterson dramatizes the anguish of adolescence, its often hilarious chiaroscuro of frivolity and puerile passions, its always poignant passage into adult reality. The play centers about a Negro boy of a middle-class family, the only colored folk in a neighborhood in a New England city, presumably New Haven, Connecticut. In its broadest aspect, it is concerned with the travail of adolescence as the perpetual reenactment of the struggle to be oneself and to belong among others. Particularly, it describes the special pain of a colored boy who finds that there is no longer any place for him in the community of white boys with whom he grew up, and the alienation he feels, as an outcast, within his family. Much of the material of the play may be autobiographical in inspiration.

The playwright's intention, however, clearly reaches beyond reminiscence, or the realistic reportage of

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MARTIN S. DWORKIN, *a specialist in education, lives in New York City. This piece is the author's revision of his article originally published by* Jewish Affairs *of Johannesburg, South Africa.*

the drama of social protest. Mr. Peterson wishes to say something about growing up and belonging, out of the particular instance of the life of a Negro boy, with whose experience he happens to be familiar. The key to this larger intention is the figure of a Jewish boy, in whom the young Negro sees reflected his own anguish, recognizing that there are others who must struggle as he has done, to make the desperate, giant step toward maturity.

EXCELLENT STAGECRAFT

Mr. Peterson has been an actor, and displays a thorough knowledge of stagecraft and of dramatic delineation of character. As he is not offering easy statements of problems, much less easy answers, the personalities of the Negro boy and his Jewish friend, as well as the other characters of the play, are kept at all times from becoming symbols of any universal prescription. They are deliberately conceived and carefully executed dramatic representations of real people; not case studies, caricatures, or quasi-mystical figures expressing forces beyond the compass of their personalities. The confrontation of the Jewish boy, "Iggie," and the Negro protagonist of the play, "Spencer Scott," is a moment of reality, not of doctrinaire signification: for *all* that, the experience of persecution of Jews and Negroes has been related almost by convention in the literature and drama of social protest.

Novels, plays, and films dealing with themes of Negro life in the United States have represented the Jew as a rhetorical figure: the symbolic conscience within the white order, the white man who cannot quite belong, but who cannot be excluded without exhibiting the moral inconsistency of strictures on belonging. This inverse projection of the ancient role of the Jew as "chosen" has, of course, a long history in our literature. It has even been used as an argument for the toleration of Jews, despite their rejection of Christianity as the revealed fulfillment of Biblical Judaism. St. Thomas Aquinas, for example, strongly urged that the small community of Jews be permitted to persist, on the ground that the Jews' very existence was a continuing proof of the historical validity of Christian doctrine. The argument has recurred since in many curious forms, and its own perversion may be observed among the Nazi neopagans, for whom the obliteration of Jews could be regarded as a vital step in their radical supervention of the Judaeo-Christian moral tradition.

In *Take A Giant Step*, the character of the Jewish boy is not merely an indictment within the white group itself of the persistence of prejudice. His role is much more essential to this particular drama of the growing up of a Negro boy. In fact, it is the moment when Spencer recognizes Iggie's distinctiveness, as a Jew, that is the crucial instant of the play. In that recognition, the young Negro realizes how blind his own acceptance of belonging had been, when there had been no question of his belonging. His awareness of the Jew, moreover, and his reaching for community with him, indicates his emergence from the chrysalis of self-centeredness. The giant step he must take is revealed as one beyond renunciation of an easy acceptance of

limited belonging, towards the reliance upon oneself that is the basis of true belonging—even of that within a community of alienation—as it is the basis of true maturity.

RECOGNITION OF THE JEW

The significance of the Negro protagonist's recognition of the Jew is apparent in the structure of the play, occurring in the climactic scene which ends the play. A group of white boys from the neighborhood have gathered awkwardly in Spencer's home. They have been invited there for refreshment by his mother, who does not comprehend that the time of adolescence has brought changes in the society to which her son had belonged; that a resurgence of the old boyish camaraderie in which he grew up is now impossible. The boy is chagrined that he has been made to appear to be begging for companionship from his old friends. As he listens to their reminiscences of the mischiefs in which they had all joined, he senses the distance he has come away from them in plain growing up.

For, he has passed through a difficult time. There were troubles at school, where he had rebelled against a teacher who had repeated the usual disparagements of Negroes in American history. This clash simply exploded into the open his inner conflict between his need to belong and his need to establish respect for himself. At home, the incident has exacerbated his irritating relationship with his father: especially as his suspension from school means that his chances of going to college have been put in jeopardy. He has made an unsuccessful attempt to escape his home, and its pressures towards a conventional acquiescence in the role of a "better" class Negro. He got away only as far as the other side of town, where the poorer colored folk live. There, he suffered a comically ignominious failure to prove himself a man with a prostitute, representing his alienation even from the dispossessed of his own race.

The greatest influence of his life, his aged grandmother, who had been his confidante and bulwark throughout childhood, has died. The qualities she nurtured in him are now his only anchorage. But his inner turmoil became too much for him to bear physically, and he was taken sick. At first, his only companions were his own bitter thoughts, as it appeared that his friends had abandoned him. Then, he had felt a first stirring of love and worth in a brief, frankly exploratory affair with his mother's housekeeper.

Now, over ice cream and cake, the boys in their ruthlessly obtuse, exuberantly adolescent way are rehearsing the time when they belonged together, blind to the present cruelty of memory. Spencer sees clearly that as the need for the society of girls grew in their lives, his own place in their group had become anomalous. He has determined to make the separation clean, putting on a show of asserting that he has outgrown games and pranks, and must devote himself to study and the cultivation of maturity. Only with the Jewish boy Iggie does he feel any community, as an instant of illumination reveals that he is not alone, in isolation.

The boys have been recalling juvenile mischief, involving the pilfer-

age of various edibles from a delicatessen owned by a Jew. Some joking remarks are being made about the "yid" and "kike"—when they remember the presence of Iggie They offer the ancient half apology, half-insult of insisting that "no offense" was meant. Anyway, they're sure Iggie doesn't mind. The Jewish boy, looking stonily out of a window, manages a half-hearted wave of his hand, and the recounting of the story proceeds to laughter once again. Spencer, however, is no longer interested. Watching Iggie at the window, a new understanding forms behind his eyes.

FINALITY OF PARTING

When the boys are leaving, Spencer makes clear that he recognizes the finality of this parting from boyhood. With Iggie, however, the parting signifies a beginning, a quite new and different relationship. Of all the boys, Iggie had been the only one concerned genuinely about Spencer. The colored boy now realizes how ephemeral belonging can be.

Mr. Peterson offers no righteous answers to simplified issues, in the manner of "problem" plays without number. The issue of caste and color is the context for a drama of genuinely ambiguous, affectively credible characters, not an occasion for mere propaganda, even for a good cause. And, as always, the drama effective for dramatic reasons makes powerful propaganda, indeed. The scene in which the boys reveal the depth of their attitudes, in their condescending forgetfulness of Iggie's Jewishness, is an excruciating, provocative moment of theatre. More is revealed of the fearsome penetration of ancient prejudices than could have been shown in oratorical flourishes of noble sentiments and indignation.

Attitudes so deeply rooted, so habitual and uncriticized, are not to be transformed by an alchemy of good intentions. Part of Spencer's new maturity is an understanding that he had to grow up, away from his companions, in order to become aware himself of the attitudes he had shared with them. *Take A Giant Step* is the most forthright play concerned with the color issue. It may also be the most profound, although it eschews the complex symbolisms and recondite meanings which are the usual measure of depth in the drama.

In its first, short run, the play enjoyed excellent critical notices and wide word-of-mouth encouragement, yet was forced to close in two months. It has been played on tour, and in summer repertory, with considerable success, which ought to continue with the present production, especially as it avoids the inflated costs of regular Broadway presentation, which rarely allows unusual plays to build their audiences in the slow course this requires. The play, it should be stressed, is no dramatized tract, but a highly entertaining work, with many hilarious moments, delightful situations and characterizations — altogether a remarkable achievement for Mr. Peterson, in his first play. The revival may have gained significance from the present crisis of contention with the issue of Negro segregation. The play's meanings are deeper and broader, however, than topical urgencies.

Some of these meanings seem to have evaded even those favorably

(*Continued on page* 645)

Mrs. Berkley Rainey (standing, right) of the Berkeley, California, branch accepts a $50 installment on an NAACP life membership payment.

Officials of Local 477, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, hold certificates for encyclopedia which they are giving to Thelma Mothershed, one of the Negro students at Little Rock (Ark.) Central high school. Looking on, from R, Gloster Current, NAACP branch director, who received union delegation at NAACP headquarters in New York.

VIPS at the Chicago, Illinois, freedom fund dinner take out memberships in the NAACP.

Some of the participants in the Chicago, Illinois, Freedom Fund Dinner.

Jackie Robinson participates in the Freedom Fund dinner of the Chicago, Illinois, branch.

Mrs. Ella Mitchell (L), president of the Association of Colored Women, presents Willoughby Abner, president of the Chicago branch, a check for $500 for a life membership in the NAACP.

Judge Theodore Spaulding of the Philadelphia branch congratulates Rev. Leon Sullivan (second from R), pastor of Zion Baptist church, on the 411 NAACP memberships from his church.

Delta Sigma Theta sorority presents $100 check to East St. Louis branch of the NAACP.

Franklin Williams (center) accepts NAACP life membership from Charles Morehead, regional life membership chairman of the Connecticut conferences.

■ By discrediting Ghana, the British press hopes to retard self-rule for Africans in other countries

The Press Campaign Against Ghana

By George Padmore

WELL-INFORMED political Ghanaians in London are beginning to express alarm over the marked deterioration in the friendly relations between Britain and Ghana so soon after the independence of the first African member of the Commonwealth.

Full responsibility for the present strained relationship in Anglo-Ghanaian affairs is being placed largely upon the shoulders of certain irresponsible Fleet Street newspapers which have never become reconciled to the idea of freedom for Negroes. These newspapers have seized upon the expulsion of three alien Africans —Mr. Bankole Timothy, a Sierra Leonean Christian journalist, and two Northern Nigerian Moslem businessmen—to launch a campaign of vilification, misrepresentation and slander against Dr. Nkrumah and other members of his Government, in the hope thereby of discrediting Ghana, bringing its Government and laws into ridicule and thus influencing British colonial policy against the granting of independence to Nigeria and other territories predominantly inhabited by Africans.

Immediately the Government's writs were served upon the three Negroes in July, the signal was given to the Fleet Street Press to move into action against Dr. Nkrumah, who had only recently before returned to Ghana from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, where he had been much lauded by the same press. Certain newspapers are said to have despatched special cor-

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GEORGE PADMORE, a frequent contributor to *The Crisis*, is an indefatigable champion of colonial peoples everywhere. He is the author of *Africa: Britain's Third Empire*, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* and other books. This piece is reprinted, with the author's permission, from *The Socialist Leader* (September 28, 1957), London, England.

respondents to Accra to send back tendentious and exaggerated reports in order to prepare British public opinion for anticipated disturbances and the long-hoped-for "Civil War," which some papers had predicted would occur before Independence on March 6th, and were greatly disappointed when things went off quietly.

All this preparation was part of a "psychological warfare" buildup in expectation of tribal outbreaks between dissident elements and the supporters of the Convention People's Party, which constitutes the Government. But thanks to the firm action taken by the Government before certain plans could be put into operation, public law and security in Ghana have been preserved, and things are quieter today than they have been for a long time past.

With the news of the deportations of three aliens, the world-famous Negro statesman and national liberator, Dr. Nkrumah, overnight became for a large part of the British Press the reincarnation of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Caesar combined. Never before in the history of British journalism has Fleet Street poured out such a barrage of lies, distortions, innuendoes and downright vilification as has been heaped upon the head of a Prime Minister in the Commonwealth.

Not without reason, many responsible representatives of the Afro-Asian Bandung nations are in private expressing strong resentment at this vile campaign against the Government of Ghana and especially Dr. Nkrumah, for whom they all have a high respect.

From their own experience they know that only "firmness" can save Ghana from internal disruption and civil disturbances such as have happened in Burma, Malay, Singapore and Indonesia—a situation which many enemies of colonial freedom are fervently hoping for and encouraging by fanning the embers of tribalism, regionalism, and religious communalism.

CAMPAIGN STEP BY STEP

Things started to move when Lord Burnham (a director of the die-hard Tory imperialist *Daily Telegraph*), in his capacity as acting chairman of the Commonwealth Press Union, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Ghana protesting against the deportation of Mr. Timothy. That the deportation of the other two men, who are not journalists, was forgotten is a fact of some significance, particularly as motives were imputed other than those stated officially by the then Minister of Interior and Justice that the presence of the three aliens was *"not conducive to the public good."*

His Lordship was quickly put in his place by the brilliant young journalist and parliamentarian, Kofi Baako, who, in rejecting Lord Burnham's insinuations, assured the world that the "freedom of the Press in Ghana is assured and not endangered in any way." We wonder if Lord Burnham can give a similar guarantee that newspapers throughout the Colonial Empire enjoy equal freedom with the Press of Ghana to abuse those in authority and vilify governors and other high-ranking expatriates exercising dominion over these exploited countries!

United Press

THE OPPOSITION IN GHANA—*These members of the "Shifimo Kpe" movement attend an outdoor rally in Accra. The members of the movement are mainly from the Ga tribe. The large umbrellas denote the presence of chiefs in the assemblage.*

Perhaps Archbishop Makarios can give us the answer, since he has had plenty of time during his exile in the Seychelles to reflect upon the hypocrisy of British imperialists. It might not be unfair to comment here that no protest was heard from the Christian Council of Churches in Ghana and its Anglican Bishop to Mr. Macmillan on behalf of the Archbishop.

Perhaps he needed to be a Moslem in order to receive their sympathy and support! Churchmen must be careful how they throw stones around in this age of double-talk and selective moral standards.

Kofti Baako's rebuff, which I confess warmed the cockles of my heart, seemed to have sent the Fleet Street champions of freedom of the press in Ghana into retirement. In fact, the British press as a whole almost simultaneously forgot Mr. Timothy and adopted as their new heroes Amudu Baba and Larden Lalemie.

GHANA ANTI-MOSLEM?

A highly religious tinge was given to this phase of the campaign, Fleet Street being actively supported by the B.B.C. The press reports and news broadcasts were heavily slanted to convey the impression that the two Nigerians were deported from Ghana because of their religion. Extreme emphasis was placed upon the description "Moslem." Never have Christian publicists so exploited Islam for such evil ends—the wicked misrepresentation of the government of the first independent nation in West Africa.

Dr. Nkrumah and his government were presented to the Moslem world as men hostile to Mohammedanism simply because the two Nigerians happen to profess this faith.

We emphasize this fact in order to illustrate the political implications which the exploitation of religion for imperialist propaganda ends can have for a country's international relations.

Fortunately for Ghana, the Minister of Justice was at the time on a visit to Egypt and Sudan, where the political leaders, President Nasser and Prime Minister Abdullah Khalil, are experienced statesmen who have themselves had occasion to imprison and deport fellow Moslems for being engaged in activities "not conducive to the public good." In fact, one of the first actions taken by Colonel Nasser on assuming power was to suppress the Moslem Blood Brotherhood for subversive activities. The Sudan government recently deported an Egyptian doctor from Khartoum for activities "not conducive to the public good."

It is well known that every day governments, including the "perfect" British Tory government, deports foreigners for activities "not conducive to the public good" without a line appearing in the newspapers.

Why do you think the British government spends millions on the Secret Service and M.I.5 (Military Intelligence Service) but to watch the activities of both British subjects and foreigners suspected of being engaged in activities "not conducive to the public good"? And no member of Parliament is even entitled to ask the Prime Minister how the money is being spent and who are the secret agents. Only two men know: the head of the Secret Service and the Prime Minister.

For if the names were revealed, it is possible that many British so-called journalists might not be able to move about as freely as they do in foreign countries. But it is not only the British who maintain agents. All nations do so, especially the Great Powers.

EDUSEI AND BING

The Moslem-baiting phase of the anti-Ghana campaign having exploded, since the Moslem countries of the Afro-Asian bloc see it as a crude attempt to bring misunderstanding between them and Ghana, the Fleet Street trouble-shooters shifted their ground. The campaign is now focused upon the contempt of court trial. Since this matter is *sub judice*, I shall refrain from comment.

Krobo Edusei, the minister of the interior, and Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., the newly-appointed attorney-gen-

eral, now seem to be the two main "villains," and they seem to be hated in circles stretching beyond Fleet Street.

But it is Mr. Edusei who has caused a shiver along the length of Fleet Street. There they have not one good word for the young Ashanti minister. Even an intelligent man like James Morris, the *Manchester Guardian* special correspondent, who should know better than his Fleet Street colleagues, could not restrain himself from ridiculing Mr. Edusei's English and dragging his wife's wardrobe into his report on the minister's first press conference. What bad taste for a disciple of the great C. P. Scott! After all, Mrs. Edusei's wardrobe is her private affair, and English is just as much a foreign language to Mr. Edusei as Twi is to Mr. Morris.

All in all, the capitalist press has made a mighty bad showing over Ghana. Everything has been exaggerated, distorted and presented out of focus and out of context. British readers have been more confused than enlightened. And now they are alarmed and no doubt hurt and surprised that certain influential younger politicians and trade union leaders are campaigning for Ghana to quit the Commonwealth as a consequence of the campaign of lies and slanders against their country in the British press.

John K. Tettegah, the influential general secretary of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, expressing the views widely held among the younger members of the C.P.P. and T.U.C. [Trade Union Congress] strongly condemned the patronizing attitude of certain British officials in the Commonwealth Relations Office, who, it seems, are unable to adjust themselves to the fact that Ghana is no longer a British colony but a sovereign state equal in status to Britian.

It is difficult for British Imperialists, brought up in the belief that they have a divine right to lord it over the darker races of mankind, to accustom themselves to the new political relationship between their country and the post-war independent nations of Asia and Africa.

TETTEGAH'S SPEECH

Mr. Tettegah's outspoken speech, made at a reception held in Accra and attended by top-ranking members of the government and diplomatic corps, should give British officials here something to put in their pipes and smoke. They may soon realize that Dr. Nkrumah, like Pandit Nehru in India, who has also been the object of violent abuse in certain sections of the British press, may yet prove to be their best friend in Ghana. For he is the only man with the prestige to restrain those who advocate quitting the Commonwealth, especially if India points the way.

The statement in the American magazine, *Time*, of September 2, quoted by Mr. Tettagah, has not been commented upon in the British press. However, Mr. Tettegah's outburst will certainly not help to improve relations with the Commonwealth Relations Office, which some suggest should be closed down and merged with the Foreign Office, where officials are more accustomed to treat colored independent countries, inside or outside the Common-

wealth, as equals and not just as "ex-colonials," a mental attitude properly resented by Mr. Tettegah.

He is quoted to have said: "May I emphatically protest against the statement attributed to a spokesman of the British Commonwealth Relations Office that Britain is "tolerant" of Dr. Nkrumah's actions. Our country is a sovereign country, and if this is the British mentality because we chose to remain in the Commonwealth, the quicker our government reviews the position the better it will be for us."

EXPULSION OF SHAWCROSS

Regarding Mr. Shawcross's expulsion, the new minister of the interior, Mr. Edusei, jokingly told reporters that "if Ghana became a republic and left the Commonwealth, British lawyers could not come here to abuse the government in our courts."

This is not the first time that foreign lawyers have been excluded from Commonwealth countries and British colonial possessions. During the trial of Jomo Kenyatta, the Kenya African nationalist leader, whom I have the honor to number among my best friends and comrades-in-arms in the struggle for African freedom against colonialism and imperialism, the British government in Kenya refused to allow a number of colored lawyers to enter Kenya to defend Kenyatta. Among them was a Sudanese, a West Indian, an Indian, and a Ghanaian, Kobina Kessie of Kumasi, who is himself a member of the Opposition in Parliament.

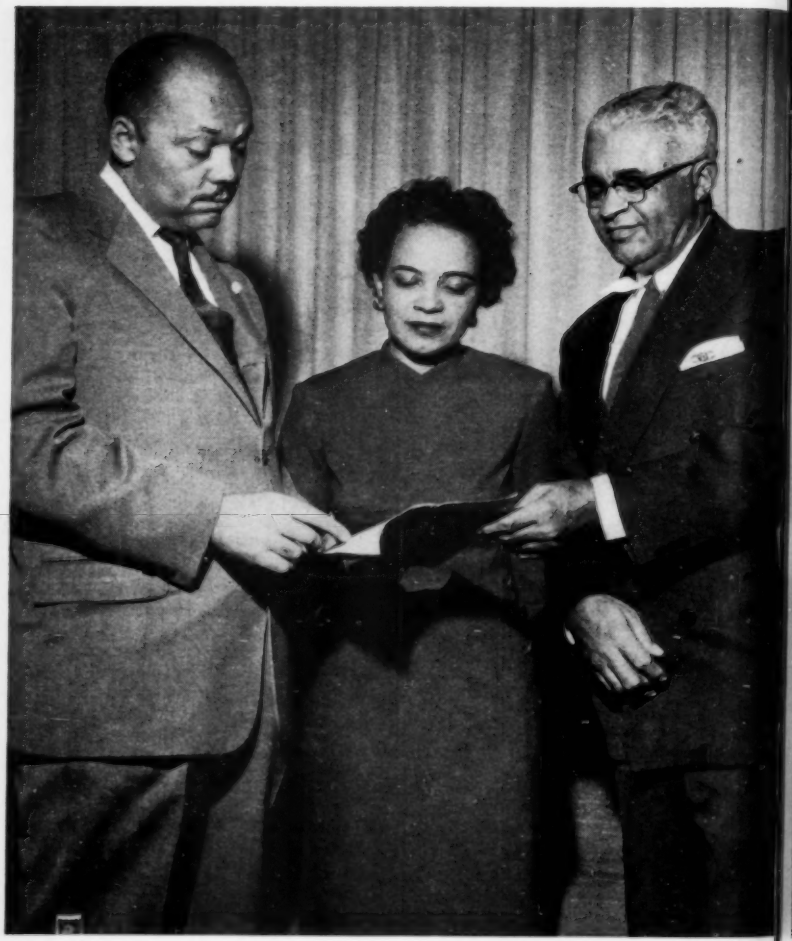
As far as I can recall, neither the Fleet Street Press, the Ghana Council of Churches nor the Bar Association in Ghana protested against the denial of legal aid voluntarily offered by members of the colored race. Today, Kenyatta is rotting in prison, where he will most likely die. For after he has completed the present seven-year sentence imposed by the court, he will be re-imprisoned, for the Governor has already ordered his detention for life.

Running all through the inspired British Press campaign is a hardly-concealed anger against Dr. Nkrumah for transferring the seat of his Cabinet to the old slave castle of Christiansborg, as well as the Government's actions in issuing stamps and coins bearing the effigy of the Prime Minister. No occasion is allowed to pass without reference to these "crimes." For never before has a black man been so "presumptuous"!

What his detractors seem conveniently to forget is that Kwame Nkrumah is not just a Prime Minister; he is, like George Washington, the "Father" of this country, the Liberator of Ghana, the Architect of a new black nation. History will remember him in these roles long after other Ghanaian Prime Ministers have come and gone.

Harry L. Cox

PHIL REYNOLDS, *president of the Portland branch, receives an FFF and membership award from Franklin Williams (R) of the West Coast region. The Portland branch exceeded both its membership and FFF quotas for 1956. The branch has raised $1,230.50 for the FFF campaign.*



Crawford

WORKERS *in the life membership campaign of the NAACP in Ohio: Dr. Kenneth Clement, Marion Stewart, life membership chairman of the national office; and Dr. William Richie.*

CONVENTION CHAIRMAN RECEIVES REGIONAL AWARD—*R. J. Reynolds (R), attorney for the City of San Francisco, receives an award for his chairmanship of the 1956 NAACP convention committee from Franklin Williams west coast regional secretary-counsel.*

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Looking and Listening . . .

LITTLE ROCK

ALBERT VORSPAN, writing on "The Plus Side of Little Rock" (*Jewish Frontier*, November, 1957), says that one of the positive developments was:

Governor Faubus and Little Rock succeeded in accomplishing something which all the pleas of the nation's integrationists had been unable to secure: the direct and vigorous involvement of the President of the United States. Many civil rights leaders have felt that a major weakness in the desegregation process has been the aloof detachment of the President. Time after time, President Eisenhower had been urged to exert the immense moral prestige which resides in his office and his person but to little avail. The President contented himself with a cool hands-off policy, punctuated by an occasional platitude which only served to raise questions as to whether or not he personally approved of racial integration as set forth by the Supreme Court.

Faubus pushed the President into the arena. It is clear that, whether he wanted to be there or not, the President is there in the smoke and the dust and he has no choice but to use the great powers of his office with all the vigor at his command. For the first time, the President has backed up a court's decree on integration with troops. He has used radio and television to carry his case to the people. He has discovered that the arts of diplomacy and statesmanship are as desperately needed in the civil rights fight as in other political questions, and he has begun to strive actively to enlist the support of the moderates. Few incidents reveal these changes as graphically as the dispatch with which President Eisenhower invited the Finance Minister of Ghana to have breakfast at the White House upon learning that he had been refused service in a restaurant because of his color. . . .

Then Mr. Vorspan discusses the impact of Little Rock on the American political scene, and "the challenge with which the segregation issue confronts the religious forces of American life. For racial segregation is, at bottom, a moral issue which is putting religion to a hard test."

Usually, says Mr. Vorspan, (who is executive secretary of the Commission on Social Action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and its affiliated federations.) Christian leaders, rabbis, and Jewish laymen work together in a common cause on this issue; but now, he continues:

The segregation crisis profoundly affects the Jewish community in the South and the North. Southern Jews are restive and fearful; they feel their economic and social status threatened by the segregation controversy. They are caught in the middle between the White Citizens Councils on the one hand, and their Negro customers on the other. Some of them out of expediency, and a few out of conviction, have joined the White Citizens Council.

United Press

QUEEN ON TOUR—*At Jamestown, Virginia, Sam Robinson, Canada-born Negro guide, tells story of the "Mother-in-Law" tree (background, right), to Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip on October 16. The tree stands in the graveyard at Old Church of 1639. The Queen appears to be reading an inscription on an old grave as the guide talks.*

A third of the members of one Jewish congregation in South Carolina are members of the White Citizens Council. But this is an extreme example. By and large, the Southern Jew does not like segregation, but he is unwilling to expose himself to public calumny and economic reprisals by identifying himself with the integrationist cause. He is deeply anxious about the dread possibility of increased anti-Semitism resulting from the high state of tension in the South. Generally, his prescription for avoiding anti-Semitism is to press the rabbi and national Jewish organizations to keep quiet about their integrationist stands. Rabbis in the South are in profound inner conflict; they treat the segregation issue with caution and are reluctant to get out in front unless and until their Christian colleagues assume the leadership. . . .

Jews continue to hold the most liberal views on questions of race. But the gap between Northern Jews and the general average seems to be narrowing, and a disturbing number of active members of Jewish organizations in the North can now be heard to say: 'Of course I don't believe in segregation, but . . .'

Considerable comfort is to be derived from the behavior of the Jewish groups in at least one embattled community. One of the distinctive features of the Levittown story is the firm unity of purpose and principle of the Jewish segment of the population in that community of 20,000 families, only 10 per cent of whom are Jewish. Acting unitedly through a Jewish Community Council, the Jews of Levittown clearly associated themselves with Mr. and Mrs. Myer and fought for their American right to live where they wished. Even an ominous undertone of anti-Semitism, which now and then came to the surface, failed to deter the Jewish community from its unequivocal support of the principle of equality.

BAD DAYS

HERE is an excerpt from "Bad Days at Little Rock," an editorial by Reinhold Niebuhr in *Christianity and Crisis* (October 14, 1957):

The power of custom at odds with the law was illustrated in Little Rock on the Sunday before the fateful Monday. On that day, Negro worshippers were turned away from white churches without the help of the national guard. We mention the incident because it proves that the Christian faith, in its collective expressions, is as liable to sanctify custom as to support the law even though it has more in common with the law than with the custom of a region. . . .

One consoling fact in the miserable situation is that the federal troops did not have to use force to protect the Negro children. The show of force was sufficient to bring a community to its senses. This is merely a vivid example of the curious compound which constitutes the authority of government and makes statecraft such an art, rather than a science. For the authority of government is derived from both prestige and force. If it is derived only from force men alternate between the fear of anarchy and the fear of tyranny. They usually choose the latter to escape the former.

If government lacks sufficient prestige, although not completely, it can compensate for the loss of prestige by the show of force. Thus Little Rock was shamed by the troops without the firing of a shot. Unfortunately the troops may have also done much to harden the hearts of the racists. This proves that the President was probably more right in July, when he said that he could not imagine a situation which would prompt him to use Federal troops, than he was in September when he was prompted to use them. But no one can be too critical of a decent man who is practicing a very refined art of properly mixing prestige and force to assert the authority of government.

POPULATION GROWTH

UNDERDEVELOPED countries need assistance from the scientists and governments of more advanced nations if they are to cope effectively with explosive population growth, the Premier of Barbados, Sir Grantley Herbert Adams, declared addressing an audience of 800 at the annual luncheon of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America at the Hotel Roosevelt in October.

Sir Grantley Herbert Adams asserted that the United Nations, through its technical assistance channels, has the kind of organization needed to help underdeveloped countries mount successful programs for the introduction of birth control. Unless population control can be achieved effectively in underdeveloped countries, he said, current efforts to raise living standards and expedite economic development will be jeopardized.

Sir Grantley told the luncheon that Barbados has a population density of 1,400 per square mile now—28 times that of the United States—and that this is expected to increase to 2,000 per square mile by 1970 unless population growth is curtailed. Two years ago, the government of Barbados officially launched a birth control program and set up a network of clinics, with assistance from PPFA, the American family planning organization.

Sir Grantley said that there has been general recognition among scientists and experts in the last five

United Press

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS—*Student council president Janice Slomohinski (L) welcomes Pauline Jackson to Pleasanton high school as peaceful integration starts. There have been more Pleasantons in the integration picture than Little Rocks or Clintons.*

years of the need for bold action to limit world population growth in order to insure the success of economic development programs aimed at raising living standards. In the light of this preponderance of scientific conviction, he said, "even more impressive is the enormous void of governmental inaction in most democratic countries and in the United Nations."

The major reason for this inaction, he declared, is the opposition of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church to scientific methods of birth control.

"I cannot believe that most Catholics, and most Catholic organizations, are not themselves eager to find a way of changing their own position," Sir Grantley said. "If Pope Pius XII can find a way to effect this change, he would not only ease the consciences of millions of Roman Catholics who already practice birth control, but he would disintegrate the major obstacle in the path of large-scale governmental research and action for contraception in the Western World."

Sir Grantley said that the responsibility of birth control advocates is to find ways of encouraging government support of birth control programs and contraceptive research despite Catholic opposition, and also of helping the Catholics to solve their problem.

RED-TAGGING

JANE CASSELS RECORD explains why pro-segregationist Southerners try to pin a red-tag on the NAACP ("The Red-Tagging of Negro Protests," *The American Scholar*, Summer 1957). After explaining that "the Communist-plot theory of desegregation" has no basis in fact, Mrs. Record gives the reason why it is so widely accepted:

What is this need? The answer is relatively simple. The red-tagging of Negro protest fills a gaping hole in Southern logic. It purports to rescue a cherished Southern axiom from the reaches of cold fact. The white Southerner has long insisted that he *understands* Deep-South colored folk and *knows* them to be happy with their lot. Now he is confronted on every side with demands, by Negroes themselves, that the basic pattern of Southern life be changed. But if Negroes are happy as they are, why are they protesting? Here there appears an embarrassing break in the Southerner's chain of reasoning. Communism supplies the missing link. If the white South Carolinian, for example, can bring himself to believe that it was the Reds who 'stirred our niggras up,' he can take care of the obvious *non sequitur* which the facts of Negro protest present to the fantasy of his cherished axiom. He can still delude himself, in spite of patent and widespread Negro agitation for reform, that he understands the *real* heart of colored men and knows that they *would have been* content with their traditional place had they not, childlike, been led astray by a left-wing Pied Piper.

The ordinary Southerner likes to think that he has done the best he could for his colored folk and that they, at heart, are not only basically satisfied with things as they are, but deeply grateful for better schools and other improvements which many reactionary Southern whites now fancy themselves as having willingly handed out in recent years. To admit that Negro protest is home-grown and home-inspired would spoil the picture, forcing to the surface a submerged feeling of guilt. Herein lies an explanation of the big play which statements by conservative Negroes have recently received in the Southern press. Typical is the piece by a colored minister from Kingstree, South Carolina. It suggests that the Southern white man is the best friend the colored race ever had; it castigates the N.A.A.C.P. as a troublemaker; it denounces integration as something the *real* Black Belt Negro does not want anyway. If someone challenges the last point with overwhelming factual evidence to the contrary, the segregationist can always withdraw into a definition of *real* Black Belt Negroes as those who do not want integration. . . .

The kind of Southerner being discussed here finds the Communist-plot thesis attractive because it helps explain away the gap between what he says and what he sees. Not that inconsistency per se troubles him. Many of his beliefs are inconsistent. In this particular case, however, the factual evidence strikes at the most sacred of all Southern premises. The contention that he alone understands Negroes and knows what they really want forms the foundation stone for an imposing philosophical structure which the white Southerner has erected to rationalize his way of life. . . .

SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID

ONE hundred twenty-three world leaders, representing thirty-eight nations from every continent, called for an international protest against the Union of South Africa's *apartheid* policy on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1957.

The Declaration charges that, in

violation of the Declaration of Human Rights, the South African Government discriminates against all its non-white citizens, denies non-whites equality before the law, prevents many of its citizens from leaving their country, victimizes leaders of all races who oppose *apartheid* and denies to four-fifths of the nation the right to participate in the governing of the country.

In urging world-wide support of the Declaration and the Day of Protest, the signers call on the Government of South Africa "to honor its moral and legal obligations as a signatory to the U. N. Charter by honoring the Declaration of Human Rights." They call upon "all free associations to petition their organizations and governments to use their influence to bring about a peaceful, just and democratic solution in South Africa."

They also urge the mobilization of the "spiritual and moral forces of mankind on this Day of Protest to demonstrate to the Government of South Africa that free men abhor its policies and will not tolerate the continued suppression of human freedom." Their stated goal is "to persuade the South African Government, before it reaches the point of no return, that only in democratic equality is there lasting peace and security."

"All men who believe in human dignity and the principle that freedom is not the prerogative of a single ethnic group," the signers said, "no longer dare to remain silent in the face of widening repression of reason and justice. As a matter of conscience we call upon freedom-loving people everywhere to adhere to this Declaration.

FARM YOUTH EXCHANGE

DORIS SMITH, a 20-year-old Negro 4-H'er who has completed a number of homemaking projects, as well as helped with the chores on her parents' 160-acre farm at Mount Holly, Virginia, was one of 14 young people who flew to Latin America in October for a six-month stay as International Farm Youth Exchange delegates.

Miss Smith and an Oregon 4-H'er, Marilyn Neill, were headed for Brazil. There they will live as members of several farm families, assisting with the work to be done, sharing in family and community social life, and developing a better understanding of the customs and culture.

Miss Smith holds a B.S. degree in elementary education from Virginia State College, and Miss Neill has earned a similar degree at Oregon College of Education.

"The only stable state is the one in which men are equal before the law."

Aristotle — *Politics*

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

NEGRO FILM ROLES

AT a luncheon meeting in Hollywood during the month of October, held under the auspices of the Association of Motion Picture Producers, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins told the industry's top executives that the NAACP (1) does not attempt to act as a "censor" of films or television programs; (2) reserves the right to criticize productions deemed racially offensive; (3) makes no demand that for each Negro in a servant role that another must be cast in a more favorable role; (4) urges the casting of Negro performers in a range of roles representative of the position of the Negro in American life today; and (5) has never advocated a ban against the use of Negroes in comic or servant roles, but does object to restricting them solely to such roles and to the perpetuation of the stereotype of the Negro as an illiterate, frightened buffon.

The motion picture industry, Mr. Wilkins said, has not kept abreast of the times. As a result, peoples abroad who view Hollywood films have no idea of the changing status of the Negro in American life. He challenged his hosts to present the true picture of America by showing Negroes in the wide variety of occupations they are engaged in—as policemen, physicians, motormen, teachers, civil servants, taxicab drivers, members of the armed services, students, sports figures, artisans and many others. Seldom, he said, does one see Negro faces, even in crowd scenes in the movies.

THE dilemma in which American representatives abroad found themselves when the Little Rock crisis broke might have been eased somewhat had the peoples of those countries been informed of recent progress made in race relations in this country, he added. In failing to give a true representation of the role of Negroes in this country, Mr. Wilkins declared, the film industry is passing up an opportunity to render a real service to American democracy.

Following Mr. Wilkins' presentation, Benjamin Kahane, vice-president of Columbia Pictures and acting chairman of the Association of Motion Picture Producers, promised cooperation and suggested as a first step that studios inform their casting directors of the NAACP position on roles for Negroes, a move, which he said, should make more employment available to Negro performers.

Scott Henderson

COLLEGE *delegates and advisors in attendance at the Virginia state conference meeting of October 4-6 held at Suffolk, Virginia.*

Also attending the luncheon, in addition to represenatives of the AMPP, were representatives of the Alliance of Television Film Producers, the Screen Actors, Writers, Directors and Producers guilds. NAACP representatives included, in addition to Mr. Wilkins, Rev. Maurice Dawkins, president, Los Angeles branch; Dr. H. Claude Hudson and Loren Miller, members of the Association's national board of directors; Bill Walker, chairman of the Los Angeles branch's screen and TV actors committee; Mrs. Tarea Hall Pittman and Lester Bailey, West Coast field secretaries.

RACIST EVENTS

IN an address at a luncheon meeting of the influential Commonwealth Club of California (San Francisco), Roy Wilkins, asserted that recent racist events in Little Rock, Arkansas, have served to awaken many Americans, for the first time, to the "ugly realities of a challenge to the very unity of our nation."

The Little Rock situation also "dealt a stab in the back to American prestige" abroad, Mr. Wilkins noted, pointing out: "The world cannot understand nor long respect a nation in which a governor calls out troops to bar little children from school in defiance of the Supreme Court of the land, a nation in which mobs beat and kick and stone and spit upon those who happen not to be white."

The address contained a strong denunciation of states' rights as the theory is interpreted by many southern states.

Recalling that Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus cited states' rights against federal authority, Mr. Wilkins said: "He and his supporters cry out that the South is a hapless minority, subjected to the rule of a ruthless majority. They ask recognition of their minority status in the nation."

But, the civil rights leaders asserted, Governor Faubus and other states'

Louis Weintraub

GOVERNOR *and Mrs. W. Averell Harriman of New York drink tea with Mrs. L. C. Bates (center), head of the Arkansas NAACP state conference, at their home in New York City on November 1. Mrs. Bates, on a speaking engagement in New York, was invited by the Harrimans to visit them and discuss the situation in Arkansas.*

rights advocates "demand for themselves minority rights which in turn they deny to their own minorities. While protesting loudly and vigorously alleged restrictions upon their liberties, they consistently restrict the freedom of Negro citizens in their states."

ACCORDING to the southern interpretation, Mr. Wilkins declared, one of the rights of the states is to deny citizenship rights to Negro citizens, which is done largely through enforced segregation.

"This [segregation] is what is now so feverishly and so fanatically defended as necessary to what has been called in this forum 'a precious and sacred custom,'" he remarked. "Stripped of all rhetoric and emotion, that

custom, I submit, embodies the ignoble objective of keeping down, by any means, a whole race on the basis of mere skin color. An intervening hundred years have meant nothing. In 1957, as in 1857 in the Dred Scott debate, the embattled racists are maintaining that a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect."

Mr. Wilkins' reference to segregation as a 'precious and sacred custom' was to an address made before the Commonwealth Club on October 4 by a Mississippi segregationist leader.

"ONE of the lessons of the sputnik," the NAACP leader asserted, "is that we dare not persist with segregated education, or with second-class citizenship. It is plain now that we do not have the exclusive 'know-how' and that we need every brain and every man and woman who can be mustered for the campaign of survival."

To gain their objective of full citizenship rights, Mr. Wilkins declared, Negroes "are prepared to sacrifice today as they have sacrificed in the past. They are willing and eager to pay the price for freedom so long overdue. Neither punitive legislation, nor harassing regulations, nor threats, nor economic freeze-outs, nor insult, nor humiliation, nor mobs, nor death will halt them in their quest.

"Their little children, begotten of parents of faith and courage, have shown by their fearlessness and their dignity that a people will not be denied their heritage."

Refuting the charge that "Negro children are incapable of attaining the mental achivement of whites," Mr. Wilkins pointed out that "all the evidence deals with averages: those who would use it as an excuse for not desegregating schools conveniently forget that many Negroes, despite the disadvantages, score just as high as whites. For these, obviously, poor group achievement is no excuse for continued segregation."

PARRY ATTACK

ON November 7 NAACP lawyers prepared a supplemental memorandum for submission to United States District Court Judge Roy W. Harper in Little Rock supporting the Association's contention that the federal court should immediately issue an injunction restraining Little Rock city officials from enforcing a recently enacted Little Rock ordinance requiring the NAACP to file its list of members and other records with the city clerk.

When, on, November 4, NAACP attorneys Frank Reeves, of Washington, D.C., and George Howard, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, appeared in the U.S. District Court for the hearing on their petition for an injunction, they were confronted with a motion, filed by the city attorney, to stay proceedings in the federal court pending an interpretation of the ordinance by the State Supreme Court through criminal proceedings instituted against Mrs. L. C. Bates and Rev. J. C. Crenchaw, president of the Arkansas State and Little

Rock NAACP units respectively.

Trial of the NAACP leaders in the local court, on charges of failing to submit branch records in compliance with the ordinance, was put off until December 3. Meanwhile Judge Harper asked attorneys on both sides to submit supplemental memoranda.

NAACP MEMBERSHIP LISTS

LITTLE ROCK and other southern communities have been warned that the NAACP will surrender its membership lists to them only "if the Supreme Court of the United States says that we must submit them."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, voiced this warning in an address in New York City at the Williams Institutional CME Church on November 3. The NAACP rally was to have been addressed personally by Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas State NAACP.

Mrs. Bates addressed the assemblage by telephone from her Little Rock home. She had returned to Arkansas to prepare for an appearance in court on November 4. The meeting was held on November 3.

Mrs. Bates' arrest was ordered on October 31 by the Little Rock City Council because of her failure to comply with a new city ordinance which gives the city the right to examine membership and financial records of organizations. On October 15 Mayor Woodrow W. Mann asked the NAACP and three segregationist groups to submit such information.

The NAACP has challenged in federal court the constitutionality of the recently-enacted Little Rock ordinance.

Mrs. Bates' telephoned talk was heard over loudspeakers at the meeting, which was attended by nearly 3,000 persons. Also heard by means of telephone and loudspeaker were four of the nine Negro pupils enrolled in Central High School.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, NAACP Board chairman, who presided at the meeting, declared that the Little Rock Negro youngsters are "representatives of a fight by Americans for America" and that the struggle "is not a fight for Negro rights but for American rights."

NEW FIELD SECRETARY

LOIS REGINA BALDWIN has joined the NAACP staff as a field secretary working with youth and adults. Miss Baldwin will have as her headquarters the NAACP national office, although she may later be transferred to a regional office.

Miss Baldwin previously was a graduate instructor in social science at Howard University in Washington, D.C. She received her master's degree in political science from that institution and studied also at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York.

She was born in Washington, D.C., and is a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, honorary fraternity in political science.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Among the speakers at the ASILOMAR conference, September 20-22, were Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary; Madison S. Jones, Jr., NAACP special housing assistant; Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary; Earl Swisher, teacher-counselor, McClymonds high school, Oakland; Dr. Cecil Thomas, associate secretary, Stiles Hall YMCA, University of California; and Philip Buskirk, community relations secretary, American Friends Service Committee, San Jose.

More than 150 high school and college student leaders attended and participated in the west coast regional leadership training conference, which was held at Asilomar, California, September 20-22, 1957. Theme of the youth and college section of the conference was "Integration thru Preparation," and major emphasis was placed on the importance of young people becoming prepared to take advantage of the new employment and educational opportunities which are being opened to them. Workshops included youth work organization and administration, training conference for youth and faculty advisors, techniques in membership and fund raising among youth and college groups, and program planning for youth and student groups.

The Vallejo youth council won the 1957 Thomas E. Wyatt Memorial Youth Award. This award is granted to the youth council on the west coast, which, in the opinion of the west coast regional youth award committee, has done the most outstanding and successful work in expanding membership, and increasing fund raising, cooperation with the adult branch. The Vallejo youth council maintained a consistently high level in memberships, both in its youth council and in its junior youth council and conducted more outstanding action and education programs to inform and educate youth in the community about the work of the NAACP.

Runners-up for the youth award were San Bernardino, Tulare, Berkeley. The Master Sergeant Thomas E. Wyatt Memorial Award was established last year to encourage youth of the west coast region to catch the spirit of the NAACP and to aid in the fulfillment of its program.

The west coast NAACP office reports that race-hate groups are stepping up their activities considerably in California on the heels of the Little Rock outburst in an attempt to capitalize public-wise on that incident.

Most active are the American Nationalist, the Christian Nationalist Crusade and the White Citizens' Councils, in that order. Southern California is the hot-bed in which these groups appear to flourish and grind out their racist materials, NAACP officials claim.

The volume of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro literature currently being distributed at meetings and through the mails by these groups is "prodigous," according to NAACP field secretary Lester Bailey.

"Our branches from Seattle to the Mexican Border, and numerous friendly white persons, regularly forward samples of these materials to this office, Bailey reported. "It is obvious from these reports that the dissemination of the printed matter of these organized bigots covers the entire West," Bailey stated.

One of the most widely circulated pieces is an alleged "FBI Report" on Negro crime statistics, "reprinted" by the *Christian Nationalist Crusade*. The American Nationalist, almost on a monthly basis, puts out an "anti-mongrelization" handbill showing Negro men and white women in intimate association. The latter is entitled "What Americans Should Know About The NAACP."

Gullible persons receiving these mailings may "strike back" at the NAACP by purchasing reprints at 5¢ per copy.

The White Citizens' Councils are reportedly establishing chapters in California, with Redlands, near Los Angeles, listed as "headquarters." Inglewood (in Los Angeles), Oakland and Hayward are return address cities for the American Nationalist, White Citizens' Councils and the Christian Nationalist Crusade, respectively, Bailey revealed.

"Free lance bigots" operate out of Redwood City and Holy City, California, near San Francisco, the NAACP official reported. One such man, a resident of Redwood City, had 100,000 pro-segregation pamphlets distributed

OFFICIALS *of the NAACP arrive in federal court in Little Rock on November 4 to contest ordinance passed by the City Council and drafted by the attorney general requiring certain organizations to register lists of their officers and memberships, as well as financial statements, with city officials. From L, Mrs. Alberta Hinkle, Little Rock branch secretary; Mrs. L. C. Bates; Clarence Laws, NAACP field secretary; and P. M. Morgan, treasurer Little Rock branch.*

United Press

over adjacent cities by airplane, according to newspaper reports.

The affects of this "massive propaganda" drive Bailey said are borne out in question periods before white groups. The speaker is presented with the challenge of refuting in a few minutes erroneous impressions and misinformation being spread daily by race-mongers.

Illinois: Governor William G. Stratton has been called upon "to meet with concerned leaders, Negro and white," for a thorough discussion and development of plans to end *de facto* segregation in the public schools of Illinois.

Michigan: A joint planning committee of the Detroit branch and youth council met on September 14 in the conference room of the Gotham Hotel to make plans for a youth career conference to be held in that city during the month of November. Herbert L. Wright, NAACP national youth secretary, served with Arthur Johnson, executive secretary of the Detroit branch as co-chairman of the meeting. Tentative plans include sponsoring the conference on November 9 at the Veterans Memorial Building.

The general theme of the conference will be "Negro Youth, Future Bright." Workshop discussion will include job opportunities for Negro youth, scholarships, fellowships, loan opportunities, and other information necessary to help Negro young people become prepared for the future.

Mrs. Henry T. (Margaret Bragg) Price, 56, active in local civic affairs before she became ill several years ago, died on Wednesday, May 20, at Ferguson-Droste-Ferguson hospital.

Mrs. Price was a native of Fulton, Missouri, teaching school in St. Joseph, Missouri from 1920 to 1924. She was secretary and a member of the board of directors of the League of Women Voters, *vice-president from* 1949 *to* 1954 *of the Grand Rapids branch, also served on the branch executive board and membership drives for many years.* She was active in the Ottawa Hill high school PTA and was a member of the membership committee and Canfield Guild of the YWCA.

Minnesota: Annual meeting of the Minnesota state conference of the NAACP was held in DULUTH on November 9.

Dynamic southeast regional director of the NAACP, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, was principal speaker at a meeting of the Staten Island, New York, branch of the NAACP.

WEST COAST NAACP *newsletter award is made to Mary Eckenrode (center) as chiarman of the newsletter committee of the Los Angeles, California, branch. Rev. Maurice Dawkins (L), branch president makes the presentation.*

Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas state conference, addressed a mammoth public mass meeting sponsored by the MINNEAPOLIS branch on October 13.

New York: The Rockland branches in Hillburn, Nyack, and Spring Valley publish a very informative branch bulletin called *The Rockland Beacon. The Nyack Observer*, another interesting branch bulletin, is published by the Nyack branch.

Ohio: The COLUMBUS branch held its first annual retreat at Beech-Maple Lodge, Blacklick Woods, on October 5. The program consisted of a period of meditation, Mathew Carter; opening statement, Rev. L. L. Dickerson; keynote address, Dr. Meno Lovenstein; buzz groups; discussion groups, Barbee Durham; and challenges to unfinished business in areas of jobs, hospitals, education, and working with others groups.

Rhode Island: The NEWPORT branch presented president Oliver C. Burton in a recital on May 12.

Virginia: One hundred and three college delegates attended the Virginia state youth conference held in SUFFOLK October 4-6. The delegates participated in a series of workshops covering such subjects as youth work organization and administration, program planning, techniques in membership and fund raising, NAACP orientation, and training for effective leadership.

TUESDAY MORNING CLUB—*The Tuesday Morning Club of Pasadena, California, through its president Mrs. Thelma Blake, presents a $500 check to Tom Nelson, president of the Pasadena branch, for the Club's life membership in the NAACP. The Tuesday Morning Club has long been outstanding in its contributions to the civic welfare of Pasadena.*

College and School News

Seventieth annual VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION convention was held in Richmond, October 29-November 1. Theme of the convention was "An Educated People Moves Freedom Forward." Four definite viewpoints were stressed throughout the sessions: classroom teaching, professionalization, development of improved human relations in community living, and participation in national and international affairs.

■

Thirty-second annual session of the North Carolina College Conference was held at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE on November 13. Conference theme was "Faculty-Student Participation in Educational Policy."

Guest speakers were Dr. William C. Archie, dean, Wake Forest college; Dr. J. Carlyle Litterman, dean college of liberal arts, the University of North Carolina; and Dr. Margaret Adams, student personnel services, Shaw university.

Lois P. Turner, of the area of English, was recently chosen to head the National Association of Dramatic and Speech Arts.

Odell Uzzell, dean of men and instructor in sociology, has been granted a year's leave of absence to accept a special Danforth Fellowship to study toward the doctorate at Ohio State university during the 1957-58 school year.

Geneva J. Holmes, a Fulbright fellow, has returned to FST after a year's leave of absence teaching at the Freetown secondary school, Freetown, Sierra Leone, under the educational exchange program.

■

The Sunday, September 22, issue of the Worcester, Massachusetts, *Sunday Telegram* carried a feature guest editorial by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE. The editorial, which occupied about one-third of the paper's editorial page, was entitled "A Negro Looks at the Trouble in the South."

Fall lecture series of the college department of sociology were initiated October 14-15 in a three-lecture series by Dr. Henry C. McBay, professor of chemistry, on "The Impact of Science of Society," "The Impact of Science Through Technology on Man's Way of Life," and "The Impact of Science as a Philosophy on Man's Way of Thinking."

Dr. Franklin L. Forbes, chairman of the department of physical education, delivered the second in the fall series on "Physical Education on the Social Frontier."

■

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH held a round-table discussion, from manufacturers, trade union and political angles, on the "Problems of Native Africans and Westerners in

Making a Living in West Africa." Panel members were Barnard Frazier, representative of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, frequently in Liberia; Theo. O. Asare, New York City lawyer of Ashanti origin, who advises West African firms; and Arnold Beichman, representative of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, often in North and West Africa. Sandford Griffith, director of the Center for African Studies at the NSSR, was moderator.

■

Dr. Withro E. McEnge, professor and head of the department of industrial education, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, and home coordinator for the Tuskegee-Indonesia project for the past two years, has been granted a two-year leave of absence to serve as teacher-trainer and adviser with the Ministry of Education of Iraq on an International Cooperation Administration project.

George W. Williams, supervisor of rural housing at Tuskegee for the past several years, has been granted a two-year leave of absence to serve as adviser to British Honduras on aided self-help housing.

■

Alma Theodora Warner of Trinidad, British West Indies, has been awarded the Grolier Society Fellowship for the 1957-58 academic year at COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. The award, which this year will carry an honorarium of $1,800, is a grant from the Grolier Foundation, Inc., which was organized to facilitate the handling of the educational and charitable activities of the Grolier Society, Inc.

Miss Warner, 28, has had eight years experience in library work in the West Indies, including work on mobile units and in both large and small branch libraries, and two years ago was named to a major post in charge of a large branch library.

■

Thirteen EDUCATIONAL TV STATIONS, according to *National Educational Television News,* are offering programs designed primarily for classroom students in elementary and secondary schools. Of these, nine stations are presenting programs which teach basic course content. Two others, as well as seven of those doing direct teaching, are providing course enrichment programs.

■

The Esso Education Foundation has made a grant of $50,000 to the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND for distribution to its 31 member institutions. "The grant represents a 100 per cent increase over the Esso Foundation's 1956 contribution of $25,000, Dr. F. D. Patterson, UNCF president, said.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY marked the 90th anniversary of the granting of its charter on October 16. Charter day speaker was Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk university.

President Rufus E. Clement was presented a plaque commemorating his twenty years of service to the university at the annual charter day dinner on October 16. The presentation was made by Dr. Paul I. Clifford on behalf of the Atlanta University Alumni Association.

M. Alioune Diop, director and

editor of *Présence Africaine*, spoke at the university on October 23.

Joseph Lohman, sheriff of Cook county, Chicago, Illinois, opened the university arts and sciences forum on November 6. His subject was "Group Tensions and the Police."

A total of 509 graduate students are enrolled in the university for the fall semester, according to registrar Dr. Paul I. Clifford.

The greatest number of students is in the school of education, with an enrollment of 286. There are 92 in the school of social work, 68 in the graduate school of arts and sciences, 38 in business administration, and 25 in library service. In addition there are 200 children in the Oglethorpe Laboratory school. The six institutions of the Atlanta university center enroll 3,589 students.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY has inaugurated a special program for the preparation of teachers of exceptional children. Both in-service teachers desiring certification in this field and undergraduate students planning to become teachers may be admitted to the program.

Dillard president Dr. Albert W. Dent has been elected by the National Health Council, of which he is a former president, to serve as a

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member of a newly-organized national commission on health careers. Dr. Dent is one of 14 Americans prominent in public health, education, and industry to be named to the commission.

▼

A substantial majority of the white residents of metropolitan Detroit favor complete school integration. But one third believe schools should be segregated and an additional tenth maintain that Negroes should be taught in separate classrooms. This is one of the principal findings of a UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN study of the attitude of Detroiters toward current social issue.

■

Ninety-first session of BARBER-SCOTIA COLLLEGE began September 17-18 with a faculty conference at which eight new faculty members and workers were presented.

Two members of the faculty, Dr. Joseph A. Payne, Jr, and Dr. Sara

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Registrar, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio

B. Cordery, recently received doctor's degrees.

President Cozart reported that $31,000 had been spent during the summer in improving the dormitories and campus.

■

Dr. Theodore Chase Greene, a veteran of 24-years as a medical missionary in China, who relinguished an assistant professorship at The Johns Hopkins university school of medicine, has joined the MEHARRY MEDICALL COLLEGE staff as associate professor of anatomy.

Through the unceasing efforts of its president, Dr. Harold West, and Dr. Matthew Walker, dean of medical studies and coordinator of cancer teaching, Meharry has now become the only medical school in the country with a six-year-program of organized and systematic students' training in experimental research. Meharry, whose teaching is on the level with the country's best medical schools, definitely leads in one field of medical education—students' Research. The college has instituted a program of training through which its graduates can provide outstanding contributions in both clinical medicine and experimental medical research.

Dr. W. H. Allen, dean of the school of dentistry, announces receipt of a grant in the amount of $34,500.00, from the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland. A two-year study will be made to determine the relationship between dental caries and periodontal diseases among Negro youths living under urban and rural conditions. Other information gained from the dental examinations will be of benefit to the entire dental profession and may provide information that can be used in the future in the long search for prevention of dental disorders.

Development director Noble F. Payton's preliminary report to the alumni executive secretary, Dr. D. T. Rolfe, shows that contributions to the Meharry Alumni Living Endowment Fund reached $20,112 for the year 1956-1957 against $9,164 for the previous year.

■

The INDIA STUDENTS ASSOCIATION of New York City began the first in its series of lectures on "Indo-American Relations" on October 6 in the local Ethical Culture Society auditorium, with India's finance minister T. T. Krishnamachari as the first speaker.

Donald W. Wyatt, formerly assistant to the president of Fisk university in charge of personnel and administrative service, has been appointed chief administrative officer for the WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER FOR THE UNITED STATES.

■

An evening course, "Artificial Earth Satellites," designed to give laymen a clear understanding of the major factors and basic scientific concepts involved in this subject, began on October 17 at the AMERICAN MUSEUM - HAYDEN PLANETARIUM, New York City.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY has received the second and final install-

ment of a $146,500 grant from the Ford Foundation.

The one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Missionary Society, with an academic convocation, was held at the university November 12-13. Ten college presidents were among the top-ranking educators to appear on the program.

■

One hundred and forty-five students were on the VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE honor roll for the second semester of the 1956-57 school year. Of that number, four received straight "A" averages.

Seven young Virginians won more than $2,000 in prizes at the National Convention of the New Farmers of America in Atlanta, Georgia.

A new program designed to stiffen standards and to provide increased opportunity for student success has been launched at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE this year.

Richard A. Long, assistant professor of English, will study in Paris this year on a Fulbright grant.

Estimated value of the physical plant at Morgan now approaches the 10 million dollar mark with completion of a $380,000 military science building and other improvements costing $522,000.

■

Thirty-one members of SHAW UNIVERSITY'S graduating class of 1956-57 were placed in teaching positions, according to Dr. Nelson H. Harris, director of the department of education.

University founder's day and home-coming events were observed at Shaw November 15-17.

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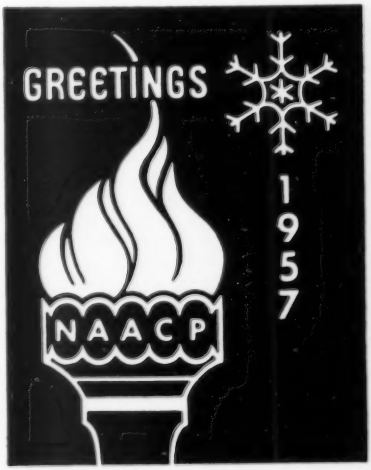

Book Reviews

PROMISE AND FAILURE

***White Man, Listen!* By Richard Wright. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957. 190pp. $3.00.**

In his latest book Mr. Wright comes to grips with the realities of color and race as a world issue. He warns the West that international Communism and Russian domination is not the only issue; and, perhaps, for the Asian-African world not the dominant one. He shows in concrete detail that "The Western world has, through sheer selfishness and racial jealousy, lost a vital part of this revolution to Communism, for, when called upon to confess authorship of her own principles, she rejected them and called them forgeries."

Three hundred years of white exploitation and white dominance of colored peoples have created a "psychological distance" between whites and non-whites. It has made full human intercourse between whites and non-whites impossible. There are always reservations, and the black or brown man moves within the shadow of insult. "This useless struggle of having to prove one's humanity, which is a kind of *supra* racism, is the blight that the Western white man has cast upon the colored masses of Asia and Africa," says Mr. Wright.

One of the most revealing chapters in the book deals with "The Psychological Reactions of Oppressed People." They are, the author concludes, "bewildering in their complexity. It simply means that oppression oppresses, that oppression takes its toll, that it leaves a mark behind." It is this psychological reaction of the oppressed, with its soul scars, that Mr. Wright wants the white man to understand, for without understanding on the part of whites there can be no *rapprochement* between the Western and the Asian-African worlds. He points out, too, that the Western-educated leaders of the "newly independent Asian-African states," often bitterly criticized in the West, furnished the only bridge between the Western and non-Western worlds.

"If these few Western-minded leaders are overthrown, it is absolutely certain that their successors will be infinitely more anti-Western than they are. The closer the West approaches the Asian and African masses, the more exclusive, shy, evasive, and militantly racial and nationalistic it will find these masses to be."

White Man, Listen! is a true and revealing book. It consists of four lectures which the author delivered in Europe—Italy, Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark—during the years 1950-56. One lecture, "The Literature of the Negro in the United States," has only tangential relation to the author's central theme.

JAMES. W. IVY

***Decision in Africa: Sources of Current Conflict.* By W. Alphaeus Hunton. With a foreword by W. E. B. Du Bois. New York: International Publishers, 1957. 255pp. $4.00.**

Mr. Hunton, for many years executive secretary of the Council on African Affairs, attempts in this book to tell the American readers the sources of African discontent. What we get, however, is a Communist tract rather than an objective study of the ramifications of European investments in Africa set within the frameworks of the various colonial systems. Our author has a penchant for tables and figures. When he tells us how much money a given country has invested in Africa, and what the native wage scale is, he seems to think his job finished. His is the sort of black-white indictment Communists make while ignoring the bewildering historical, traditional, and psychological factors which would give meaning to their dialectic. On the whole Mr. Hunton's findings are not new and he presents them in a stodgy manner.

J. W. I.

Corner Boy. A novel by Herbert Simmons. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957. 266pp. $3.50.

Corner Boy is an outstanding first novel by a writer of talent. Though the book deals with the lives of a dozen or more characters—Maxine and Scar and Monk and Evelyn, et al.—, it is primarily the story of Jake Adams, who is 18 and "tall, slim and solid." Jake's world is a world of teen-age tenement dwellers whose lives revolve around street corners, pool rooms, night clubs, and chicken shacks. They dress in expensive clothes, drive flashy cars, engage in gang fights, and some of them are addicted to marijuana and heroin. Much of the story is told in jive-talk dialogue.

Jake, who is a pusher of heroin and reefers, is the paragon for this crowd. He has an expensive wardrobe, plenty of money to spend, a winning swagger, and a way with the girls. Mr. Simmons ends his novel on an ironic note in which Jake is involved in the accidental death of a white girl neighbor he regarded as his "sister." Mr. Simmons is a lively writer and he does more than analyze, sometimes brilliantly, the personal relationships of his characters. This interesting first novel won the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship Award.

J.W.I.

***Why We Behave Like Americans.* By Bradford Smith, assisted by Marion Collins Smith. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957. 322pp. $4.95.**

Despite its title, this book does not explain why we behave like Americans. It tells us mostly how we behave as Americans. Mr. Smith has many interesting things to tell us about America and how we act as Americans, yet many of his generalizations are as shaky as those advanced by anti-American Europeans to condemn us. What he writes about Negro advancement, the reduction of Negro illiteracy, the number of Negroes in college, and the number of automobiles and homes we own, while true enough, gives no inkling of the status of the Negro population in present-day USA. What is wrong with Mr. Bradford's book is his oversimplification of the complex life of a vast and complex country.

J. W. I.

***Close to Colette: An Intimate Portrait of a Woman of Genius.* By Maurice Goudeket. With an introduction by Harold Nicolson. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957. VII+245pp. $4.00.**

Maurice Goudeket, who was Colette's third husband and almost twenty

years her junior, relates in a rambling way some of the essential traits of Colette as woman and writer. Her tells of her love of cats, her interest in food, her preferences in music, and how she composed her books. *Close to Colette* is not a book of "revelations," but a personal tribute by husband and friend to the genius of a great artist and "an extraordinary person."

Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette (1873-1953) was showered with honors during the later years of her life. In 1945 she became a member of the Académie Goncourt. She was promoted to the highest rank in the Legion of Honor, given the Gold Medal of the City of Paris, and the Diploma of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, USA.

MRS. SENORA MAE GRATTON, *president of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Federation of Womens Clubs Inc., presents a life membership in the NAACP to the Philadelphia branch. Municipal court judge Theodore Spaulding (center) accepts the check from Mrs. Alberta Braxton, retiring president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, Inc. From left, Mrs. Hattie Morrisey, vice-president of the Philadelphia FNC; Mrs. Anna Jackson, chairman of trustee board of Philadelphia FNWC; Judge Spaulding; Alberta Jackson, retiring president of PFNWC; Mrs. Senora Grattan; Mrs. Viola Allen, secretary Philadelphia branch.*

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TRAVAIL OF ADOLESCENCE

(*Continued from page* 603)

disposed towards the play when it first appeared, as they overlooked the crucial role of the Jewish boy, regarding it as accidental to the drama. In fact, it is the key to a profound, compassionate conception of the anguishes of adolescence, the interpenetration of belonging and alienation, and the price of a mature self-respect. As the play continues to vivify the theatre, its meanings will come alive and grow.

RACE-HATE WINS

(*Continued from page* 594)

and believe will be a history-making test case. Lawyers say it will be a "landmark case" if the IUE succeeds in winning a precedent-setting decision from the NLRB; setting aside, rendering null-and-void, an NLRB representation election because of the employer's use of race-hate propaganda against the union.

This, as I say, may be history in the making. It can be a major step toward the eradication, today and forever, of indecency and inhumanity, in the conduct of labor relations.

APPALLING EVIL

But our attack on this appalling evil will not be confined to this action in the NLRB regional office in New Orleans and what develops from it.

We have also attacked on a second front and at a much higher level. We have asked the national NLRB to adopt a radical new policy summarized in these two sentences:

Employer use of race-hate propaganda in an NLRB representation election prevents the free choice of a collective bargaining agent and justifies setting aside the results of an election in which no bargaining agent is selected. Furthermore, and even more important, the use of such propaganda against unions during organizational campagins is a vicious form of interference and coercion which should be declared by NLRB to be an unfair labor practice.

We of the IUE are proud of the two-front action we have undertaken here, but we will wait to take our real satisfaction until victory in both efforts has become reality.

I hope for the day, and this too I hope will not be too far distant, when men's tongues will know only the one term: Human Race!

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